

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 NATO 06632

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SUBJECT: NATO DEFENSE INITIATIVES: OVERVIEW OF APPROACH
TO JULY 15 REINFORCED EWG MEETING

REF: (A) NATO 6596 (DTG 081807Z JUL 77),
(B) NATO 6592 (DTG 081745Z JUL 77),
(C) NATO 6597 (DTG 081813Z JUL 77),
(D) NATO 6593 (DTG 081751Z JUL 77),
(E) NATO 6577 (DTG 081340Z JUL 77),
(F) NATO 6590 (DTG 081739Z JUL 77),
(G) NATO 6627 (DTG 090837Z JUL 77),
(H) NATO 6628 (DTG 090843Z JUL 77),
(I) NATO 6630 (DTG 091009Z JUL 77),
(J) STATE 151934 (DTG 292318Z JUN 77),
(K) NATO 6307 (DTG 011212Z JUL 77)
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SUMMARY: IN THIS TELEGRAM WE OUTLINE OUR RECOMMENDED
APPROACH TO THE JULY 15 REINFORCED EWG MEETING. WE BELIEVE
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THAT, ON THE WHOLE, TASK FORCE DIRECTORS HAVE DONE A COM-
MENDABLE JOB IN DEVELOPING THEIR DRAFT TORS. THEREFORE,
WE EXPECT THAT THE TORS APPROVED ON THE 15TH WILL PROVIDE
ADEQUATE GUIDANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS, AT LEAST IN
THE INITIAL STAGES. WE OUTLINE SOME POINTS WE BELIEVE THE
US REP SHOULD MAKE IN HIS INITIAL, GENERAL INTERVENTION;
SUGGEST A CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO PROPOSING CHANGES TO TORS

THAT ARE ALREADY SATISFACTORY; AND SPECIFY THE TORS ON WHICH WE BELIEVE THE US SHOULD SEEK TO REMEDY SERIOUS FLAWS. ACTION REQUESTED: BY OPENING OF BUSINESS JULY 13, GUIDANCE FOR THE JULY 15 REINFORCED EWG MEETING. END SUMMARY.

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1. GENERAL. WE BELIEVE THAT, ON THE WHOLE, TASK FORCE DIRECTORS HAVE DONE A COMMENDABLE JOB IN DEVELOPING THEIR DRAFT TORS. THEREFORE, WE EXPECT THAT THE TORS APPROVED AT THE JULY 15 MEETING WILL PROVIDE PROPER GUIDANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR PROGRAMS, AT LEAST IN THE INITIAL STAGES. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT, AT LEAST FOR SOME PROGRAMS, THE NEED FOR SOME SHIFT IN DIRECTION OR FOCUS COULD EMERGE LATER, IN THE COURSE OF TASK FORCE WORK. FOR THE MOST PART, TASK FORCE TORS ARE IN GOOD ENOUGH SHAPE FOR DIRECTORS TO PROCEED STRAIGHT AWAY, DESPITE THE FAIRLY EXTENSIVE COMMENTS (REFS A THROUGH I) WE HAVE MADE ON THEM. AT THE JULY 15 MEETING WE EXPECT THAT EACH TASK FORCE DIRECTOR WILL HAVE LIEVE THIS IS FEASIBLE, WE WOULD SEE THE MEETING OUTCOME AS SUCCESSFUL.

2. INITIAL GENERAL INTERVENTION. WE BELIEVE THERE ARE TWO POINTS THAT THE US REP SHOULD ADDRESS IN HIS INITIAL, GENERAL INTERVENTION: A) RESOURCE GUIDANCE, AND B) DIVISION OF PROPOSED ACTION EXPLICITLY INTO TWO CATEGORIES - NEAR AND MID-TERM MEASURES AND LONG-TERM MEASURES.

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-A. RESOURCE GUIDANCE.

----- (1) THE SHAPE TASK FORCES IN PARTICULAR HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DEVELOP RESOURCE GUIDANCE TO PREVENT THE PRODUCTION OF "WISH LISTS." WE CONSIDER THE SHAPE EFFORTS COMMENDABLE. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SHAPE RESOURCE GUIDANCE SEEMS TO BE PARTICULARLY APPLICABLE TO ITS OWN PROGRAMS AND IN THIS CONNECTION WE BELIEVE THAT THE SHAPE FORMULATION FOR ITS OWN PROGRAMS COULD BE FURTHER IMPROVED. WE ALSO HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE APPLICABILITY OF THE SHAPE GUIDANCE GENERALLY TO THE OTHER PROGRAMS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE ALREADY NOTED OUR PROBLEMS WITH WASHINGTON'S FORMULATION (REF J) AS WELL AS WITH THE "QUICK FIX" WE MADE TO THE WASHINGTON FORMULATION FOR OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH ASYG MUMFORD (REF K).

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----- (2) TO ILLUSTRATE THE DIFFICULTY: SHOULD THE EW TASK
FORCE DIRECTOR BE LIMITED TO DESIGNING A PROGRAM THAT IS
AFFORDABLE UNDER CURRENT FUNDING LEVEL PLUS 3 TO 5 PERCENT
ANNUAL INCREASE PROJECTED FORWARD? SINCE THE SUMS BEING
SPENT ON EW ARE PRESENTLY VERY SMALL, RELATIVE TO LARGER
PROGRAM AREAS, E.G., AIR DEFENSE AND MARITIME, IT IS POSS-
IBLE THAT A REALISTIC EW PROGRAM MIGHT HAVE TO CALL FOR A
100 TO 300 PERCENT REAL INCREASE AND THAT SUCH A LARGE
PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN EW COULD BE ACCOMMODATED BY HOLDING
SOME OTHER PROGRAM INCREASES TO, FOR EXAMPLE, 2.9 PERCENT,
OR BY HOLDING A PARTICULAR PERSONNEL PROGRAM LEVEL STATIC
IN REAL TERMS.

----- (3) WE BELIEVE THAT, EVENTUALLY, THE EWG WILL HAVE TO
GIVE SOME DEFINITIVE FINANCIAL GUIDANCE TO TASK FORCE
DIRECTORS, BUT THAT DIRECTORS SHOULD NOT BE UNDULY CON-
STRAINED AT THE OUTSET. WE QUESTION, HOWEVER, WHETHER IT
WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DEVISE A FORMULA IN TIME FOR THE
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JULY 15 EWG, AND EVEN IF A FORMULA COULD BE DEVELOPED, WE
DOUBT THAT EWG REPS WOULD BE ABLE TO ACCEPT IT AT THAT
MEETING. CAPITALS WILL WANT TO STUDY FINANCIAL GUIDANCE
VERY CAREFULLY BEFORE AGREEING TO IT. THEREFORE, THIS
MATTER SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH PARTICULAR CARE ON THE 15TH.

----- (4) ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US REP SIMPLY FLAG THE QUESTION ON JULY 15 AS A MATTER THAT THE EWG WILL HAVE TO ADDRESS AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME AND RECOMMEND THAT TASK FORCE DIRECTORS PROCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FINANCIAL GUIDANCE IN THEIR TOR. WHERE THIS GUIDANCE IS NOT SPECIFIC, NOTE THAT TASK FORCE DIRECTORS MUST STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE OPTIMUM AND THE PRACTICAL. THE US REP SHOULD STRESS THAT HE IS NOT INVITING A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF RESOURCE GUIDANCE FORMULAE AT THE JULY 15 MEETING.

-B. DIVISION OF PROGRAMS INTO TWO TIME CATEGORIES. THE DIVISION OF PROPOSED ACTIONS SPECIFICALLY INTO TWO CATEGORIES: (1) NEAR AND MID-TERM MEASURES (1979-1984) AND LONG-TERM MEASURES (1985 AND BEYOND) IS A POINT THAT COULD BE COVERED IN THE GENERAL INTERVENTION AS HAVING APPLICATION TO ALL TASK FORCES. SOME, E.G., THE SHAPE TASK FORCES, HAVE ALREADY INCORPORATED THIS POINT BUT ALL THOSE THAT HAVE NOT WILL NEED TO DO SO. THE US REP MIGHT STRESS THE NEED FOR BALANCED EFFORT ON BOTH CATEGORIES, SO THAT ATTENTION IS NOT DEVOTED TO THE NEAR AND MID-TERM TO THE NEGLECT OF THE LONG-TERM.

-C. IN ADDITION, WE SUGGEST THAT THE US REP, IN HIS GENERAL REMARKS, REITERATE THE IMPORTANCE THE US ATTACHES TO CLEAR STATEMENTS OF AIMS, IDENTIFICATION OF PRIORITIES AND CANDIDATES FOR TRADEOFFS, AND DEVELOPMENT OF COSTED, COORDINATED PROGRAMS WITH NATIONAL AND MULTILATERAL MEASURES SPELLED CONFIDENTIAL

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OUT.

3. SATISFACTORY TORS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FINAL DRAFT TOR ARE GENERALLY SATISFACTORY FOR ALL TASK FORCES EXCEPT REINFORCEMENT AND RESERVE MOBILIZATION, AND TO A MUCH LESSER DEGREE C3. OUR COMMENTS ON INDIVIDUAL TORS HAVE INDICATED AREAS WHERE WE BELIEVE THE SATISFACTORY TOR COULD BE STRENGTHENED OR IMPROVED. HOWEVER, DESPITE OUR FAIRLY EXTENSIVE COMMENTS, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US WEIGH CAREFULLY THE BENEFITS TO BE GAINED FROM TRYING TO STRENGTHEN THESE SATISFACTORY TORS AGAINST THE DANGERS THAT A DETAILED DISCUSSION COULD LEAD TO AN UNMANAGEABLE DRAFTING EXERCISE, INCLUDING UNDESIRABLE PROPOSALS FROM OTHER REPRESENTATIVES.

-----A. AS A GENERAL RULE, WE BELIEVE THE US SHOULD ESCHEW PROPOSING ADDITIONS TO THE TORS THAT WOULD SERVE TO FOCUS TOO NARROWLY THE TASK FORCE EFFORT EARLY IN THE EXERCISE. GRANTED, THE TASK FORCES WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ADDRESS ALL POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENT AREAS IN EACH FIELD, BUT SOME TASK FORCES MAY NEED TIME TO STUDY THE PROBLEM FURTHER BEFORE DECIDING WHAT TO CONCENTRATE ON AND WHAT TO LEAVE TO THE

REGULAR NATO PLANNING ACTIVITIES.

-----B. LIMITING DISCUSSION OF THE SATISFACTORY TORS WILL PROVIDE MORE TIME FOR THE EWG TO CORRECT THE TORS THAT ARE SUBSTANTIALLY DEFECTIVE. HOWEVER, IF A MEASURED DISCUSSION OF EACH TOR IN TURN SHOULD OCCUR ANYHOW, THE US REP CAN SEEK TO GAIN AGREEMENT TO THE MORE IMPORTANT AMONG THE US-DESIRED IMPROVEMENTS FOR THE SATISFACTORY TORS.

4. DEFICIENT TORS. WE BELIEVE THE US REP WILL NEED TO WEIGH IN ON THREE TORS, TO ATTEMPT TO REMEDY FLAWS, AS

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FOLLOWS:

-----A. REINFORCEMENT. THE PRINCIPAL DEFECT WE SEE IN THE REINFORCEMENT TOR IS THAT THEY DO NOT MAKE SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR THAT THE TASK FORCE WILL MAKE AN ADEQUATE EXAMINATION OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR RECEPTION AND ONWARD MOVEMENT OF FORCES, SUPPLIES, AND EQUIPMENT WITHIN THE EUROPEAN THEATER. REF B PROVIDES OUR DETAILED COMMENT AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE REINFORCEMENT TOR.

-----B. RESERVE MOBILIZATION. WE NOTE THAT PRESENTLY RESERVE REQUIREMENTS ARE FRAGMENTED AMONG THE READINESS, THE REINFORCEMENT, AND THE RESERVE MOBILIZATION TASK FORCES TORS, WITH NONE ADDRESSING DIRECTLY THE QUESTION OF

WHETHER MORE, DIFFERENT OR BETTER TRAINED AND EQUIPPED RESERVES ARE DESIRABLE OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS WITHIN THE AFFORDABILITY CRITERION. TO AVOID THIS FRAGMENTATION, WE BELIEVE THAT THE RESERVE MOBILIZATION TASK FORCE DIRECTOR SHOULD HAVE THE DEFINITIVE MANDATE OF PRODUCING A PROGRAM
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PROVIDING FOR MORE RESERVE COMBAT UNITS FOR INTEGRATION INTO ACE PLANNING. REF C PROVIDES OUR DETAILED COMMENT AND SUGGESTIONS.

-----C. C3. WE BELIEVE THAT, IN GENERAL, THE C3 DRAFT TOR EMBRACE MOST US OBJECTIVES. HOWEVER, WE CONSIDER THREE OMISSIONS IMPORTANT ENOUGH FOR THE US REP TO SEEK THEIR INCLUSION AT THE JULY 15 MEETING: COMMUNICATIONS SECURITY (COMSEC), THE REQUIREMENT FOR AN ULTRA-SURVIVABLE, MINIMUM COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK ALONG THE LINES OF THE US MINIMUM ESSENTIAL EMERGENCY COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK (MEECN), AND SPECIFIC MENTION OF THE NEED FOR A MILITARY OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENT TO INTERCONNECT VARIOUS C3 SYSTEMS. REF H CONTAINS OUR DETAILED COMMENT AND SUGGESTIONS.

5. SPECIAL CASE OF EW TOR. THE TOR FOR THE EW TASK FORCE ARE A SOMEWHAT SPECIAL CASE IN THAT, AS WE EXPLAIN IN OUR COMMENT (REF I), WE UNDERSTAND THAT CINCHAN MAY EA J

WEEK PROPOSE AMENDMENTS TO HIS ORIGINAL SUBMISSION, BUT WE DO NOT KNOW TO WHAT EXTENT HE WILL INCORPORATE INFORMALLY PROPOSED US CHANGES INTO THESE AMENDMENTS. IF THE AMENDMENTS GO SOME WAY TOWARD MEETING US PREFERENCES, WE BELIEVE THE US REP SHOULD MINIMIZE COMMENT AT THE JULY 15 EWG MEETING, SINCE ACCHAN SENSITIVITY OVER THE AMOUNT OF US INVOLVEMENT APPEARS TO BE RUNNING HIGH (EXPLAINED MORE FULLY IN THE REF I) AND ADVERSE COMMENT BY THE US REP MIGHT FURTHER HEIGHTEN THIS SENSITIVITY AND GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US HAS NOT APPRECIATED ACCHAN'S ATTEMPT AT ACCOMMODATION. IF THERE ARE NO AMENDMENTS, OR THESE AMENDMENTS DO NOT SEEM TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE US PROPOSALS, THE DEGREE OF US INTERVENTION AT THE JULY 15 EWG SHOULD CONSIDER THE ADVANTAGE OF TRYING TO CHANGE THE TOR AGAINST THE ALTERNATIVE OF SHIFTING
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OUR FOCUS TO INFLUENCING THE SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTING INSTRUCTIONS PROCEEDING FROM THE TOR. AT THE MOMENT, WE ARE INCLINED TOWARD THE LATTER APPROACH. STREATOR

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